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tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

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Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Munduruc[illegible] is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [649] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Munduruc[illegible] tribal integration in times past.

• 611 622 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also, 611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain 636 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 769 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important inheritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Munduruc[illegible]. A young man in search of a mate

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dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.[10] These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

[10] Cf. Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

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hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's house. Despite the generational continuity of the females and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
5% smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

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174 182 241 591 the forms because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

114 121 591 611 423 Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

121 591 182 Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 218-218.

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structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

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182 591 611 turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[8] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior. [614]

182 794 The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[8] It has been suggested that I use the term duolocality to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.